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Abbreviations:

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AA	American Anthropologist.
AMNH-AP	American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers.
UC-AR	University of California, Anthropological Records.
-PAAE	Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.

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Notes

121 648 1. This paper is based on ethnohistorical research done for the Lands Division, United States Department of Justice, in connection with three aboriginal occupancy cases before the Indian Claims Commission: Docket No. 87, The Piute Nation vs. the United States; Docket No. 17, Indians of the Former Malheur Reservation vs. the United States; Docket No. 100, The Klamath and Modoc Tribes and the Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians vs. the United States. I wish to thank Julian H. Steward, who appeared before the Commission as the main witness for the Government in hearings on Dockets 87 and 17, and Leland L. Yost, attorney, Lands Division, for basic questions both raised concerning the nature and history of the Northern Paiute "bands" of central Oregon, and for the unlimited help Mr. Yost rendered in locating archival material. To David Cobb of the firm of Cobb and Weisbrodt, attorneys for the plaintiffs in Docket No. 87, I am indebted for an indefinite loan of a set of plaintiff's exhibits, consisting chiefly of copies of letters and reports in the National Archives.

113 The following abbreviations are used:

BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology — Bulletin
BIA	Bureau of Indian Affairs
CDS	Congressional Documents Series
DC	Department of the Columbia
DP	Department of the Pacific
FP	Field Papers
NA	National Archives
OS	Oregon Superintendency
OSFP	Oregon Superintendency Field Papers
RCIA	Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs
RSW	Report of the Secretary of War
Stats. L.	United States Statutes at Large
WDC	War Department Commands
WR	War of the Rebellion, Ser. 1, Vol. 50.

129 All remarks within parentheses in quoted material are part of the quotation; all bracketed material is ours unless otherwise indicated.

101 648 2. Snakes (and variants thereof — Digger Snakes, Paiute Snakes, Snake Root Diggers, Upper and Lower Snakes, and so forth) was the early 19th-century name used by explorers, Indian Bureau and Army personnel, and early settlers for the Northern Paiute-speaking peoples in central and eastern Oregon. The Indians themselves never recognized or acknowledged Snake as a name, but did refer to themselves in English as Paiutes. Gradually the latter name came to be used by the Whites; at first more commonly for those Indians of south-central

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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Oregon who roamed east of the Warner Range, then for all the Indians in central Oregon previously referred to as Snakes. See Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14, for the earliest (1854) and the restricted use of Piute; RCIA 1870 (CDS #1449) pp. 598-599 for a more extended application of the name.

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At the present time "Northern Paiute" is the name used to distinguish the Indians of central and eastern Oregon, southwestern Idaho, northeastern California and western Nevada, from the northern Arizona-southeastern Nevada "Southern Paiute" who speak a related, but different Uto-Aztekan language, unintelligible with Northern Paiute. Reasons for the general adoption of the name Northern Paiute are given in Berreman, Tribal Distribution, pp. 47-53, Ray and Others, Tribal Distribution, pp. 402-407, especially pp. 405-407; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, pp. 128-129. See also Julian H. Steward, Owens Valley Paiute, p. 235, and Basin-Plateau, Fig. 1 and p. ix.

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3. Acceptance of the Yahuskin and Walpapi by ethnographers as aboriginal bands began in 1879 and has continued to the present time. See Gatschet, Classification, p. 410, Indian Languages, p. 753, Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. xxxv; BAE-B 30, pt. 2, pp. 557, 983, 901; Berreman, Tribal Distribution, pp. 47-53; Ray and Others, Tribal Distribution, p. 406; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, Map 1 and pp. 131-132; Whiting, Paiute Sorcery, p. 21; Driver and Others, Map. Omer C. Stewart, in particular, accepts the Walpapi and Yahuskin as aboriginal, landowning, politically organized bands, and maps them as such. His Yahuskin area contains "about 5,000 sq. mi." (ibid., map and pp. 131-132) and his "Hunipuitoka or Walpapi" area about 7,000 sq. mi. (idem).

N 114 101

4. Gatschet's 1879 spelling of Yahuskin and Walpapi (Classification, p. 410) has been generally adopted in the ethnographic literature. In BIA reports and correspondence the treaty-spellings (see below), or variants thereof, are customarily used.

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5. Treaty Between the United States of America and the Klamath and Moadoc Tribes and Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians; Concluded, October 14, 1864; Ratification advised, with Amendments, July 2, 1866; Amendments assented to, December 10, 1869; Proclaimed February 17, 1870 (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383).

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6. Published lists of Klamath "divisions" or groups as given by Leslie Spier (Klamath Ethnography, pp. 23-26) and Edward S. Curtis (North American Indian, vol. 13, pp. 237-239) do not include any upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group. Spier's omission is probably due

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However, the goodly stock of North American Indian ethnographies that we have, once their contents are properly dated, would no longer be misleading or confusing documents, but on the contrary would represent valuable source material. Used in conjunction with relevant ethnohistorical material, they could provide a basis for studies of culture change, cultural stability, cultural resistances, and other enquiries into cultural dynamics. To neglect them because they do not fulfill everything that was claimed for them when they were written is to fail to recognize the close relationship that exists between the results of ethnohistorical and ethnological research, as this relates to larger problems in cultural anthropology.

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Caucasions. This stage of interracial contact which created the milieu of Indian groups under 622
pressure and who needed a strong leader, and of Caucasians who had to handle the "Indian prob- 640
lem" by negotiation rather than by force if possible, is what may have led to the emergence of Old Winnemucca as a strong chief. The record is clear that he had much more prestige, support, and authority among the Paviotso in the 1860–1870 decade than in the 1880's when the Paviotso tribe no longer could be considered a "problem" (i.e., after the Indians had been "reduced" in the Pyramid Lake war).

After Winnemucca, although his name is today remembered and honored among the Paviotso, his son and successor, Natches, was much less important as a chief *because a strong chief was no longer required by the whites.*

The lineal descent of the chief's position survives today, but a man whose father and grand- 622
father were chiefs, and who today claims that title, may be laughed at for his pretensions by most of the Indians he claims to represent. That this is true of the Washoe tribe is probable, and in my own experience of thirty years ago, I recall that Skinny Dave at the Lovelock Indian Colony was the self-styled chief who was laughed at for this by most of his fellow tribesmen. His claim to the office was correct since his grandfather was Captain Dave, who was married to a daughter of Old Winnemucca—what made it different was that in 1930 Indian chiefs were no longer either needed or in vogue. Sarah Winnemucca (1882) says of this: "I will now speak [423]
of the chief. His rank is inherited from father to son, the oldest being the chief by law. If he is dead, the one next to him became chief, or, if there are no sons, the next male relative; but never a woman."

For some reason which I do not understand, this subject has been practically ignored by ethnologists. Before Indian memories become too dim to provide accurate testimony, some student should make detailed inquiries into the matter of Paviotso chieftainship and combine these data with the rich documentary record to produce what is a much-needed study.

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APPENDIX 2. NOTES ON THE NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

LLEWELLYN L. LOUD

131

The territory within the limits of Nevada now inhabited by the Northern Paiute includes the counties of Washoe, Humboldt, Pershing, Churchill, Lyon, Storey, Ormsby, Douglas, and Esmeralda, a total of 27,239 square miles, or one-third of the area of the state. Within these counties there was, in 1910, an Indian population of 3353, including 536 Washo and 60 Mono.[39a] This would make 9 Indians per 100 square miles. How the present population compares with the population of primitive times is a matter for speculation.

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[161]

NORTHERN PAIUTE BANDS

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The Northern Paiute were divided into numerous bands of one hundred or more individuals each, so that individuals of one kin kept together in their seasonal travels in search of food. The Handbook of American Indians lists 61 of these bands,[40] but only about half of them are really Northern Paiute, the others being located in Mono or Shoshoni territory. Natches gave a list of bands, or "families" as he called them, as follows.

[114]
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sai'i, short form of sai-duka'a, "tule-eaters," a mythical people formerly living in various parts of Nevada. The Handbook gives what appears to be the same name, Saidyuka, as a band of eastern Oregon.

neme, "people" or "person," the Northern Paiute name for their own people from Walker lake, Nevada, to Snake river, Idaho. They call their language numa. Another name for themselves, at least those from Humboldt lake to Oregon, was agitsi'i.

[113]

[39a] Indian Population United States and Alaska, 1910, pp. 23, 28. U. S. Census Bur., 1915.

[40] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Am. Ethn., pt. I, 1907; pt. II, 1912. Names of bands and data regarding them are found in articles as follows: Mono-Paviotso (including Snakes and Saidyuka of Oregon), Paviotso, Sawagativa, Itsanatiaga, Toiwait, Kosipatuwiwagaiyu, Kuyuidika, Pamitoy, Laidukatuwiwaif, Genega, Watsequeerda, Winnemucca (The Giver), Warartika, Tonoyiet, Tompe, Wahi, Tupustikutteh, Tubianwapu, Hadsapoke, San Joaquin's Band, Odukoo, Potodseka, Tosarke, Poatsituktikuteh.

13:Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

224 stated what mountains, but it is presumed that the Pine Nut mountains east of Carson sink furnished their principal supply. Granite Spring valley, northwest of Lovelock, and Coyote canyon, near Unionville to the northeast of Lovelock, were noted for ground squirrels, but appear to be the territory of other bands of Indians. It is probable that various mountains were visited to get small game. Two Tips was especially mentioned as a place where they got woodchucks.

411 224 [824] In shooting birds, rabbits, or any small ground animal, arrows tipped with the hard greasewood, *Sarcobatus*, were used; never arrows tipped with stone, which were reserved for large game. Different tribes made their arrows differently, so as to know them. Natches was of the opinion that Northern Paiute arrowpoints were always small. He thought that the spearpoints obtained in the valley must be the work of another people, who will be mentioned later under the [226] heading Myths. The Bannocks had spears, but Natches never heard tell of Northern Paiute using them; neither did they spear fish.

224 [115] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins[a] mentions the hunting of bighorn sheep, deer, and antelope. The antelope, which fed on the low grass plains in herds during winter and in the spring as late as April, were said to be "charmed" by two men who went around the herd on five successive nights with torches made of sagebrush bark. Half a dozen large mounds of sage brush were built, near which at early morning and again at evening smoking, drumming, singing, and other magic acts were resorted to. On the fifth night the antelope were said to be charmed so that they followed the men with the torches up to the piles of brush where they could be easily killed. Though the Indians believed that success was due to magic, in reality the animals were made victims of their own curiosity.

[178] After the Indians came into possession of horses they would chase [231] deer and antelope into the valley, and when one horse gave out another man with a fresh horse would be ready to take up the chase.

Trapping.—It would seem that much of their small game was obtained in traps. Traps were also made weighted with stones sufficient to kill coyotes, wolves, and wild cats. For the smaller animals a single large stone with a flat undersurface was tilted and set with one edge against an upright post so as to easily become loosened and crush the animal beneath (fig. 25*a*).

[113]

[a] Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims. Edited by Mrs. Horace Mann, and printed for the author. Boston, 1883.

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224 Cottontail rabbits were snared as they passed along their trails under willow bushes. A willow was bent over and secured with a string which choked the cottontail when the willow was released.

222 [221] *Eggs and young birds.*—After the Northern Paiute had obtained a supply of ground squirrels in the mountains, they returned to Humboldt lake in late spring to secure bird eggs, and young ducks before they were able to fly. The greasewood bushes near Perth were especially mentioned as a good place for the securing of duck eggs. At this season also pollen from the cat-tail rush was gathered to make candy.

226 [221] *Fishing.*—As soon as the willows began to put forth their leaves, the Northern Paiute went to Truckee river. At just about the same time that the young birds began to fly, the kuyui fish that wintered in Pyramid lake went up the river as far as Reno. The river is so steep that the fish got tired after spawning and hence did not go all the way up to Lake Tahoe. During the entire summer the Indians stayed on Truckee river and at Pyramid lake and dried large quantities of fish to take to their homes at Humboldt lake. After ice had formed in the river a stone ice pick was used to cut an opening across the stream in which was placed a seine net. A few men would be stationed at the net, then all the remainder of the band, women and children as well as men, would go up the river and then come down over the ice stamping and pounding with stones to scare fish downstream. When the crowd reached the net each person participating in the drive took a fish from the men stationed at the net.

226 825 From the names employed, it would appear that the Northern Paiute recognize four classes of fish and about nine species, doubtfully identified from the description by Natches as follows:[42]

1. awago.—Red sucker, 6 to 10 inches long in Humboldt lake, and 12 to 14 inches long in Pyramid lake. *Catostomus tahoensis.*

2. tui-pagwI.—A minnow or sucker, 3 inches long in Humboldt lake, and sometimes 5 to 6 inches long in Pyramid lake. The last part of the name is the root word, as Natches said, for all kinds of fish, while the first part seems to be descriptive of a variety. *Siphoteles obesus* or *Leucidius pectinifer.*

3. hu-pagwI.—Minnow, 2 to 3 inches long in Humboldt lake; found also in Truckee river. *Richardsonius egregius.*

4. kow-pagwI.—Minnow, 2 inches long in Humboldt lake; also in Truckee river. *Agosia robusta.*

5. agai.—Mountain trout, found at Elko and said to have formerly been in Humboldt lake; 10 to 12 inches long, weighing 1½ pounds. In Lake Tahoe it is larger weighing 2 pounds and having a maximum diameter of 4 inches. *Coregonus williamsoni.*

[113] [42] J. O. Snyder, The Fishes of the Lahontan System of Nevada, in Bull. U. S. Bureau of Fisheries, 35, Document 843, pp. 31–86, 1917. Ten genera and 14 species of fishes native to the Lahontan basin are described.

13:Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

6. agai.—Big trout of Pyramid lake, the very smallest weighing 2 pounds and commonly 25 to 30 pounds, 4 feet in length, with the maximum diameter of 7 to 8 inches, the body being lens-shaped and narrower from side to side than from back to belly. *Salmo henshawi.* 226 825

7. tana-agai.—"Spring-trout," at Pyramid lake, so named because it is caught in the spring, 18 inches long. *Salmo henshawi.*

8. kuyui.—Black-skinned fish of Pyramid lake, gray-skinned variety of Winnemucca lake, body round in cross-section, 4 inches in diameter, 20 inches long. *Chamistes sujus.*

The following quotation from Snyder shows the great importance of the last mentioned species as food:

In former times the coming of the "cui-ui" was a great event, not only for the Pyramid Lake tribe but also for other Paiutes from far to the south, who sometimes reached the fishing grounds in such a starved condition that many were unable to survive the first feast. At present numerous little camps may be seen along the river during the spawning period. The fishes are caught in large numbers and tons of them are dried for later use. [731] [251]

Mollusks.—Whether or not mollusks were sufficiently numerous to constitute a source of food supply was not learned. The river mussel (osapE), *Anodonta oregonensis,* was made into ornaments. Natches said that if California Indians who traveled to the borders of the Northern Paiute country wore any ornament of abalone or olive shell, the Northern Paiute would desire it the minute they saw it and would trade for it. The shamans had so great a use and desire for olive shells that they would dream about them. Both men and women wore abalone and olive shell ornaments in considerable quantities. The abalone, *Haliotis,* is called puidua'a. Olive shells, *Olivella biplicata,* are known as potE. Possibly the word potE or pote may be generic for any species of univalve, since the local fresh-water *Lymnaea stagnalis wasatchensis* and *Helisoma trivalvis* are also called potE. 237 301 [226] [262] [439] [756] [787] [192]

Plants.—Following is a list of a few Northern Paiute names of plants and their uses as learned from Gilbert Natches. The Gosiute equivalent as taken from Chamberlin[43] is also given whenever it is in anywise similar. 824

pamahape, bog-rush, *Juncus.* Gosiute, pa'hwap, pa-ma-wap.

pipobE, triangular tule, *Scirpus nevadensis?,* seeds eaten.

sai, tule, *Scirpus lacustris.* Gosiute name, saip. [262]

sawipi, sawapI, sagebrush, *Artemisia tridentata.* Bark used for sandal padding, also to carry fire from place to place; compare Shoshoni word wa-ap, to burn, and Gosiute words, wap, wá pi, juniper. [291] [372]

[43] E. V. Chamberlin, The Ethnobotany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assoc., 2:329–405, 1911. [113]

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Abbreviations:

A	Anthropos
AA	American Anthropologist
AJS	American Journal of Sociology
AMNH–AP	American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers
AMNH–B	Bulletins
AMNH–M	Memoirs
ASS–P	American Sociological Society, Publications
BAE–B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletins
BAE–R	(Annual) Reports
CU–CA	Columbia University, Contributions to Anthropology
DU–CE	Denver University, Contributions to Ethnography
ESS	Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences
HU–BML	Harvard University, Botanical Museum Leaflets
GSA	General Series in Anthropology
I–A	Ibero-Americana
JAFL	Journal of American Folk-Lore
JH	Journal of Heredity
JRP	Journal of Religious Psychology
NSHS	Nebraska State Historical Society
NU–SSS	Northwestern University Studies in the Social Sciences
PMM–B	Public Museum (of the City) of Milwaukee, Bulletin
RMIA	Revista Mexicana de Ingeniería y Arquitectura
UC–AR	University of California, Anthropological Records
UC–PAAE	Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology
UW–PA	University of Washington, Publications in Anthropology
YU–PA	Yale University, Publications in Anthropology

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